# PAGAN

## I.—THE KYAUKKU TEMPLE.

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# PAGAN.

## CHAPTER I.—THE KYAUKKU TEMPLE.

THE northernmost point of historical Pagan is situated in an almost unapproachable ravine about 3 miles to the north-east of the Shwe Zigôn pagoda (see map of Pagan).

"Above Nyaung-u (see *Yule's Mission to Ava*, page 55) the sandstone cliffs again appear, rising boldly from the water to a height sometimes of 130 feet or more and broken by frequent inlets. The waters, now at their highest level, filled the winding gorges, and above their woody banks rose groups of the ancient temples, affording many beautiful pictures, of which our hurried passage allowed us to bring away no record. In one projecting ridge of sandstone there was a tunnel, apparently natural, through the wall of rock, admitting the passage of a rude staircase descending from the village behind. Close to this, in the soft sandstone cliff overlooking the river, were five caves. The entrances were partially bricked up so as to reduce the passage to a small doorway, and people, who stood along the ledge in front, appeared to inhabit them."

The pagodas, which rise behind the caves mentioned by Colonel Yule are known as the Shwe Thabeik temples (ရွှေသဒိတ်ဘုရား the temple of the golden alms-bowl); the gorge that opens to the north is the Shwe Thabeik chaung (ရွှေသဒိတ်ချောင်း). We shall return to these pagodas presently. It is the end of December; the level of the Irrawaddy is low; the sides of the ravine rise almost perpendicular from the dry sand-bed filled with a chaos of water-worn boulders and low thorny shrubbery. About a hundred yards due south another deep gorge, the Kyaukku chaung (ကျောက်ကူးချောင်း), opens to the east. With difficulty we climbed the cliff, about 150 feet high, and arriving at the summit I was not a little surprised to see, instead of a rugged precipitous cliff, an apparently unbroken plain stretching to the south and south-east, arid, parched, and barren. "The sandy dry and yellow soil peeps out all over, "and is scarcely hidden by the stunted and half-grown brushwood and coppice which is sparsely scat-"tered over it. Not a tree is to be seen for miles together, not even a shrub taller than a man." This desolate plateau before us is intersected in all directions by deep gorges which cannot be seen until one comes close up to their precipitous sides; they are not geological fissures, but the wornout courses of currents of the surface-water of the monsoons; they subdivide the plain into a complex of separate hills with level tops and precipitous sides almost inaccessible from any point.

A sense of indescribable loneliness overcomes one here; the green fields to the north down below hugged by the Irrawaddy appear in the faint outlines of a dreamy land; to the south-west the gigantic temples of Pagan cut dim triangles and squares against the sky and the distant Tanggyi hills; the mysterious Popa mountain is a mere huge spot in the landscape; nothing near whereon the eye could rest; no sound seems to reach this sequestered region.

The history of Pagan is essentially a history of religion; with the exception of Manuha's palace there is not at present a building left in Pagan that has not been erected in the service of the most powerful Buddhist hierarchy that existed since the time of Asoka. The memory of the mighty rulers Anawrata, Kyanzittha, Narapatisithu, and Kyawzwa lives in the Ananda, Shwe Zigôn, Bodhipallin, and Kyaukku temples. Pagan received hospitably the scattered remains of fugitive Buddhists from all parts of India. From the 10th to the 13th century it was the most celebrated centre for

Buddhist religious life and learning in Indo-China. Fraternities from Ceylon, from the conquered Ha*m*savatī, from Siam, Camboja, and probably Nepal and China, sojourned in Pagan and, as they brought sectarian notions with them from their respective homes, sectarian strife soon became rife in Pagan, and King Narapatisithu (Narapatijayasūra) assigned to each fraternity or sect separate quarters where they were to reside.

The spot where we are now standing is the northernmost point of Pagan. Here the Burmese priests of the old school lived after they had been excommunicated by the zealous Talaing priest Chapada, who had returned from Ceylon, where he received the Upasampada ordination from the priests of the Mahāvihāra. "The Mrammas" (Burmans), Chapada exclaimed, "are indeed "the lords of the country, and the Mramma priests have assumed lordship over the church, but their "ordination, not having been performed in accordance with the precepts of the Vinaya, is not valid; it "behoves not that we, the successors of Sona and Uttara (the Apostles sent by Asoka to Thatôn two "centuries before Christ), should hold communion with them." Chapada and his followers then renounced community with the Pagan priests and formed a sect of their own (1182 A.D.). Narapatijayasūra, King of Pagan, patronized this sect, and it attained to great influence and numerical strength at the capital.

About 3 miles to the south rise the slender spires of what is now called Hngetpyittaung, where Chapada and his followers retired; it is essentially the quarter of the Sinhalese sect (Sīhalasangha). It will form the subject of the 3rd chapter. South and east of the Shwe Zigôn pagoda resided the Talaing fraternities, who differed from Chapada, inasmuch as they claimed the ordination service performed by them as valid as the Sinhalese, claiming an unbroken descent from the priests Sona and Uttara. Chapada maintained that their priests' orders were invalid as the paramparā, or hereditary succession of priests from the time of the two Apostles to their day, had been interrupted often; each break in the succession requires a new ordination from a priestly community which has an unbroken paramparā; the priests of the Mahāvihāra in Ceylon alone could claim it. To the south of the Ananda resided the Camboja and other sanghas.

The high plateau whereon the Mramma sangha, the excommunicated Burmese fraternity, lived is admirably adapted for abstract studies. There is no "food" for the senses here to prevent the mind to concentrate itself upon subjects metaphysical. Here is the cradle of Pāli-Burmese literature. Here Aggavamsathera, the spiritual councillor of the king, wrote the *Saddaniti*, a compendious grammar of the language of the Tipi*t*aka; the *Visuddhimaggaganthi*, a scholium to Buddhaghosha's *Path to Holiness*, and the *Abhidhammaganthi* in explanation of difficult passages in the seven Abhidhamma books; Saddhammajotipâla composed the *Suttaniddesa*; Saddhammaphala the metaphysical work *Nāmakaya dīpaka*; Saddhammasiri the grammatical treatise *Saddatthabhedacinta* and the Thera Abhaya the *t*īka to the same work; Saddhammaguru the *Saddavutti* (grammar) and Sariputtara the scholium to it; Siridhammavilāsa the *t*īka (scholium) to Kaccayana's grammar; Saddhammakitti the *Ekakkharakosa* (grammar); Dhammasenapati the *Kārikā* and *Kārikā t*īka (Pāli prosody); Ñanavimalabuddhi the *Vuttodaya* (Pāli prosody) and Saddhamma*n*āna a *t*īka to it; Uttamathera composed a commentary to the *Balavatara* (grammar); Saddhamma*n*āna, the author of the *Vuttodaya t*īka, wrote the *Chandosaratthavikāsani* and a scholium to it; these and many other treatises written by the industrious monks who dwelt here in the 11th and 12th centuries are, in point of learning, second to none in Buddhist literature.

From report and history archæological remains could be expected here. The only building visible was a small Ārôn yôn or kyaung (အာရုံရုံး), where to this day Buddhist priests occasionally come to dwell during certain phases of the moon to practise the 38 subjects of meditation (ārammanas, in Burmese corrupted to Ārôn). It is a modern teak structure built in the style like Burmese

monasteries, but on a diminutive style; it has two small rooms, a verandah round it, and the whole rests on posts 4 feet above ground. It is exclusively used by priests when practising the ārammanas (ārammanam karoti or ganhati) and then abandoned again. Laymen never visit the place.

To the north of it and close to the river bank (see Plate IX) is the Paungdaw U Paya (ဘောင်တော်ဖြူးဘုရား) in a state of total ruin; the base is square, 15 feet to each side; the rest appears to have been circular and massive; the material is brick; no niches, sculptures, or anything worthy of note could be found; the cliff has here a clean drop of 140 feet down to the river bank.

The pagoda is a mere landmark. History asserts that the Pagan King Narapatisithu (နရပတိစည်သူ) occasionally visited the Kyaukku ônhmin (see below) in his royal boat (ဘောင်တော်); in commemoration of his visits he had this pagoda built over the place where his boat moored on the bank below. Date of erection 550 B.E. (1187 A.D.)

About half-a-mile to the south we espied two heaps of bricks; on reaching them we found ourselves on the edge of a yawning deep ravine; as if conjured up by the magic wand there rose a large three-storied structure of a strange aspect leaning against the opposite side of the gorge; 10 yards from the gorge nothing could be seen either of the latter or the temple.

The two heaps of bricks mentioned were originally two pagodas with enclosing walls also built by King Narapatisithu between the years 550—555 B.E. (1187—1192 A.D.). The queen and her sister often accompanied the king on his visits to the Kyaukku ônhmin, for such is the name of the glen-hid temple; but as the rules of monastic discipline forbade the presence of womankind within the precincts of a monk's dwelling, they were not allowed to enter the shrine and the king had two pagodas and zayats built here, so that they might have a full view of the wonderful temple opposite and rest while he visited the shrine and its priests. Traces of brick walls are still visible, but all the rest is in ruin; nothing of note could be discovered. They were called Kyidawmū Paya (ကြည့်တော်မူဘုရား), *i.e.*, the pagodas of the royal look-out (vista).

## THE KYAUKKU ÔNHMIN.

The gorge which holds this shrine runs due east for half-a-mile, then bends to the north till it meets the Irrawaddy; the approach is difficult from all sides. The temple stands on an elevation, so that the base of the structure is a little above high-water mark; it has three distinct stories and lateral terraces all built against the south side of the gorge; the lowest story, with the exception of the upper tiers, which are brick, is built of stone blocks, a greenish, fine-grained, hard sandstone of no geological connection in or about Pagan; the blocks are well hewn and joined with cement, closely fitting, but not polished, the fine chisel marks being plainly visible; huge stone blocks form the approach to the central and only door. This portion of the building has suffered much from earthquakes; the sides have rents, some extending from the base to the roof; many have evidently been repaired and filled out with bricks made to fit into the rent; the red streak of brick colour contrasts curiously with the tender green of the stone wall; the upper retreating stories are constructed of bricks and are partly built into the excavated side of the gorge, so that their weight rests only in part upon their respective substructure. The architectural style of these upper stories is not in unison with the lower one and they are no doubt later additions by King Narapatisithu. The two first stories have no outer south façade, being built directly on to the side of the gorge; the topmost story rises a little above the edge of the banks of the ravine.

*First story.*—A peculiar feature, I think, of Burmese architecture is the absence of true bearing. The wilder nations and tribes in Burma, uninfluenced by Indian civilization, have a predilection to build their houses and shrines with the façade to the east or north, seldom to the west or south. The more ancient structures in Pagan have a truer meridian than the more modern ones, which stand

at all angles; a line meant to run from north to south has always a more or less pronounced dip to the west or east, which owes its origin to the custom of the Burmans to erect their walls in the line of the shadow drawn by their own body standing against the sun; the direction at any fixed hour in different seasons of the year varies, of course, according to the solstitial points in which the sun may happen to be at the time of the casting of the shadow.

The façade of the lowest story runs compass-true 52′ due from east to west and has a height of 40′; the width of the ascent to the central door is 9′; the latter is 6′ wide (see Plate V) and 12′ high. The arch of the porch (see Plate II, No. 4) appears to have been semi-circular; at present only the western haunch is preserved; between the stones forming the arch and the outer stone façade and the topmost portion of the porch is a layer, about a foot thick, of small-sized bricks laid horizontally, no doubt inserted to lighten the superincumbent weight of the arch; a beam of fossilized wood forms the architrave; the steps leading up to the entrance are immense stone slabs; they exhibit no ornamental carving; the original position of the last two slabs has been disturbed by treasure-hunters, who searched for valuables below the threshold. About 3′ from the ground a scroll of leaf-and-tongue design cut in low relief runs along the three sides of the temple; on the face of the two sides of the porch, just above the lintel, is also a scroll, an ogre disgorging festoons of a pearl design (see Plate VI, No. 7); above the porch a scroll of the same pattern runs round the three sides of the shrine; then follows a strip of moulding, ovolo and band. In the tier above quadrangular equidistant holes perforate the wall; beams of timber are seen protruding from some of them, the fragments probably of rafters of a portico, protecting the entrance against the rain; the sun never touches the façade. A few more layers of bricks partly covered with plaster and with the same moulding brings us to the flat roof.

On each side of the entrance is a window of peculiar structure and ornamentation. Seven stone slabs, forming an entablature, project from out the wall. The topmost is 2′ wide and protrudes 4″; every succeeding one is larger (with the exception of the fifth, which narrows in owing to the ovolo moulding of the preceding one); the lowest is 8′ broad and 1′ deep (see Plate III, No. 6); a single slab like the rest finely hewn and polished. This entablature supports two pillasters with capitals and pedestals projecting about one-third of their diameter; the face of each pillaster has five equidistant horizontal bands or scrolls (see Plate III, No. 8*a*); the whole rests on a protruding portion of the main wall. The pillasters hold a stone frame, around which run delicately chiselled tendrils in low relief. Into this frame is set a solid stone slab 6′ high and 4′ broad, with six times four circular perforations 5″ in diameter and 8″ deep; but towards the interior the circles change to squares. Plate III, No. 6, shows the beautiful ornamental design around the 24 perforations; unfortunately this unique window could not be photographed for want of light and a proper focusing distance.

We re-enter the vaulted porch and examine the door; there is no arch; a large horizontal stone slab overtops the sides as a lintel. Plate IV, Nos. 9 and 10, shows the moulding of the exterior of both sides of the entrance and the designs chiselled in low relief into the stone blocks. No. 10 is the west, No. 9 the east side of the entrance. At the base on either side is the figure of a nude female and of two nondescript males of the human species, one standing with the hands folded over the chest, the other sits; both grin in silent delight with the eyelids lowered in bashful affectation. All figures wear a profusion of hair, wavy and curly, with here and there a suspicion of restraining ribbon. The lobes of the ears of all are bored and hold large, circular ornaments, which make the abnormously expanded lobes almost touch the shoulder; around the neck are rich pendants. The male figures (also nude) suggest to a Western mind an overgrown Bacchus after a feast. Why they should adorn the threshold of the abode of ascetic monks is hard to see, unless it be that the contemplation of these sculptures should awake that disgust for worldly pleasures which distinguishes a

true follower of Buddha. The wild profusion of hair and the way of wearing it I have not met elsewhere in sculptures in Burma; it is so unlike the known fashions of the present inhabitants of this country. In the involutions of the arabesques above the female figure sits a royal personage in full court dress; then follow griffins, ducks, peacocks, &c., all in low relief in representation of phases of Gotama's past existences. On the west side is still preserved the wing of a wooden gate, which reaches up to the lintel; it swings by the ends of the axis being set in cup-like hollows cut into stones projecting from the wall; the wing is lattice-work, wooden laths with flowery carving being laid in diagonal checkers.

In passing this passage the interior is reached; it is a dark, vaulted hall with two immense stone pillars on each side supporting the ceiling; it measures 42′ from east to west and 25′ from north to south. In the centre of the south side is a large image of Buddha in the usual sitting posture, cross-legged, the soles of the feet turned up; the hand, palm downward, of the right arm resting on the right knee, the left, palm upward, lies in the lap; the width from knee to knee is 16′; the height of the image 22′; the right shoulder is uncovered; the robe falls in graceful folds over the body and knees; the face wears the usual aspect of placid contemplative repose; the eyes are half closed, the axis of the eyes horizontal; the nose straight, chin and jaw heavy and square; more an Aryan than a Mongoloid face. It rests on a throne (pallin) 9′ high, 18′ broad, and 7′ deep, constructed of well-hewn stone slabs, set up in a succession of bars showing an outline of band, ovolo, and astragal moulding.

The two stone pillars (see Plate V, No. 11 *dd*) have 8′ to the side; they show a flowery carving at the base, but are otherwise plain. At a height of 26′ the two opposite sides of the pillars incline towards each other and meet at 32′ in a pointed arch. The passage way at *c* has a horizontal architrave, but at *cc*, facing the interior, it passes over into a lofty pointed arch, and above the latter the wall inclines towards the pillars, forming a groined ceiling; the other portions of the wall also incline towards the pillars in a curve till they meet the perpendicular sides of the pillars. At *ff* a staircase of seven steps leads up to the window described on page 4; the north, east, and west sides of the walls of the interior have three equidistant rows of niches, one above the other and seven to each row; the niche is wide and let 1′ into the wall; they have a sharply pointed arch, but no ornamental designs; all appear to have contained stone sculptures; most of them have, however, been thrown out of the niches and lie in wild confusion on the floor, or are buried in the *débris* of the ceiling, which has given way in some places. Plate II, No. 5, shows one of these stone sculptures: Gotama in the calm repose of Parinirvāna with adoring monks above and laymen beneath, some in praying attitude, others dancing. Most sculptures depict Buddha in the usual sitting attitude.

The walls have originally been coated with plaster; faint traces of paintings and inscriptions appear here and there, all very much defaced.

On the south end of the hall (at *hh*) appear originally to have been two passages out, but they have been roughly walled up with bricks. At *i* a low narrow passage leads to the caves; the geological formation is here a mass of coarse-grained sand, hardly compact enough to be called stone. Any small fragment crumbles under the pressure of the hand.

The entrance is a quadrangular framework of strong timber without ornamental designs of any kind; the passage is from 4 to 6′ wide and from 5 to 6′ high, but often only 3 or 4′, so that frequently we had to crawl through it on all-fours. The passage runs in an elliptic curve round *l*, the inner side is walled in with bricks, the outer shows here and there a few feet of the same material, but is otherwise bare and without decoration; at regular intervals it opens into small square chambers 6′ to the side and 6′ high; a beam of ordinary or fossilized wood is often placed above the entrance as a lintel; at *h* the passage re-enters the hall. At *m*, however, another subterranean passage branches

off to the west; at point *n* it has fallen in; at *o* it runs due south with lateral chambers *pp* as before; at point *q* it follows a western direction for 28′, at *r* again a southern direction for 20′; here the cave has totally collapsed and further progress becomes impossible. The caves have now absolutely no light or ventilation of any kind; formerly they passed right through the hill and opened on the south side of it, thus admitting the circulation of a current of air through them; bats, bat-guana, and unbreathable air soon drove us out; other caves, now fallen in, open from the outside at *uu*. There are not now any wall paintings, images, or inscriptions in the caves, except a small inscribed stone slab (see Plate No. VII, 14) found in the circular cell *t*.

*Second story.*—No stairs lead up from the interior of the first story to the second. The ascent must be made from the outside. All other many-floored temples in Pagan have one or two interior staircases, and their absence in the Kyaukku temple seems to be almost conclusive of the upper stories being later additions. To the east of the temple the side of the gorge is perpendicular and ascent impossible. On the western side a number of terraces have been built on to the temple and the precipice; they rise in regular succession one above the other from the base of the gorge to the summit; each has a low projecting parapet. They stand in no architectural unison to the main building, but were raised in the 13th century by the Pagan King Narasīhapati to check the Chinese-Shan invasion from the north. Holding the spacious plateau with its precipitous sides all round, and manning the terraces with a sufficient number of soldiers, it appears, with the war weapons of that period, almost impregnable to attacking foes from the north.

Plate IX, No. 18, gives in black ink the outlines of the stories I, II, and III; the defensive terraces built on to them are marked in red; the dotted lines indicate traces of former walls or structures now completely dilapidated.

I is the flat roof of the first story; *a* is a square elevation of brick, 32′ from north to east, 6′ high, with a circular, massive brick pagoda in the centre about 15′ high. It is almost ruined and what is left of it is of no interest; distance from 1 to 2 = 40′; from 3 to 4 = 40′: from 4 to 5=48′; height of II terrace above the first 22′; it is built of bricks badly cemented; the walls, originally plastered, are now bare in most places and show little ornamentation (see Plate X, No. 2). The west side has in the centre a passage, and on each side of it what appeared to be a window; all have pointed arches and the brick moulding peculiar to more modern buildings; the south side of the structure shows outlets corresponding to those of the west side. Passing through the central entrance, which is 3½′ wide, 9′ high, and 2′ deep (the thickness of the outer wall), a flight of seven steps leads down to a passage 6′ wide, 34′ long, and the apex of the pointed arch 16′ above the floor; the north and south sides of the passage have seven rows of niches, one above the other, let 8″ into the brick wall; each row now counts 23 plus 4 over each of the lateral passages; each niche seemed originally to have contained a small stone statue of a Buddha in the usual sitting attitude (see Plate V, No. 12).

At both ends of the passage towards the north is an opening with a most peculiar construction of the arch; the latter has to bear the weight of a chamber above (see below, chamber *c*); it is built of bricks of various sizes (see Plate V, fig. 12); the illustration will give a correct idea of it. The passage is 5′ high and 4′ wide, and continues 34′ to the north, then turns in a sharp angle to the east for another 34′, then 34′ to the south, and re-enters the principal vault, thus forming a quadrangular gallery round a central pillar of apparently massive brickwork; the length of the façade of the II terrace measures only 30′ from north to south. This archway begins in the centre and runs 34′ to the north, leaving 20′ to account for; the level of its floor is lower than the rest of the roof of the I terrace; the other 20′ run underneath the elevation (mentioned in the last paragraph) with the small circular pagoda on top. The floor of the northernmost portion of the passage has collapsed and fallen into the interior of the I story; the walls are absolutely bare.

We now climber up to the opening *c* (see Plate IX), which lies on the north side of the central entrance; the sill is 6′ above the level of the terrace and 11′ above the floor of the central passage *a*, which is 5′ lower than the entrance. It is 3′ wide and 5′ high; three steps lead up to a gangway running from west to east and opening on the other end in an aperture like that on the west side; it is only 3′ wide and 9′ high; the arch of entrance and passages is pointed; on both sides are four rows of niches, 15 niches to each. All images have been removed on both sides of the passage, which is right over the head of the gigantic Buddha below on the I floor. On the east and west sides of the main passage are two outlets, 3′ wide, 10′ long, and 5′ high, running from south to north and opening out on the terrace on the sides of the circular pagoda mentioned above.

The third chamber (*a*) is on a level with the room (*c*); it is 9′ 4″ broad and 9′ high; the ceiling is vaulted; two-thirds of the exit to the east is roughly walled up with bricks; the room is perfectly plain, no niches or ornamental designs of any kind. But against the wall recline 12 wooden carved figures 5′ 8″ to 6′ 2″ high; the elaborately wrought head-gear and necklaces leave no doubt that they are the effigies of royal personages. The body is plainly dressed; a mantle, open in front, falls almost down to the feet; the body is wrapped in a close-fitting, sackcloth-like garment; the right arm hangs straight down in the inner fold of the mantle, the left hand lies over the heart; the feet are without covering. Round the neck are tigerclaws and strings of pearl-pattern; the eyes are nearly closed; the face reflects the repose of death. The features are stern, the nose prominent and aquiline, chin and jaws broad and heavy; the axis of the eyes straight; the individual expression of the various faces differ, but they are not Mongoloid. The head-dress and ear ornaments are gorgeous; it is a mitre, and has a suggestive resemblance to the mitre pagodas and flamboyant spires over the doors and windows in Pagan architecture (see *Yule's Mission to Ava*, page 45). The statues are very much damaged. I think they represent Pagan kings who, when grown old, assumed the yellow robe and died here in the hope by such a meritorious deed to have attained the state of embryo-Buddhas (Alaung-payas).

The roof of the II story is perfectly level and paved; it was no doubt used as a place of recreation by the peripatetic monks.

The third story is 50′ to the south of the north façade of the second and 90′ to that of the first; it rises a little above the level of the plateau; it is in ruins and measures 36′ from north to south and 20′ from east to west; the only entrance is a vaulted passage facing the north, 6′ wide and 14′ deep. The inner chamber measures 22′ by 13′; only parts of the west and north sides remain; the spire has fallen down; to judge from a small turret or minaret still standing on the side wall the pagoda seems to have been of the mitre type. At *m* and *n* are steep flights of stairs leading to the first and second terraces of the outworks. There are traces of walls along the edge of the gorge, but they have fallen over the precipice.

The Kyaukku temple is now so called because a huge stone block (kyauk) lies athwart the deepest gully near the front of the entrance and was utilized by the monks retiring from the opposite plateau in crossing (ku) over to the temple. But this is a modern name. The old classical name is lost. Narapatizithu erected only the upper two stories in the 12th and Narasīhapati the lateral terraces in the 13th centuries, but the lower seems to have existed before Anawratha. There are many structures apparently similar to the first story of the Kyaukku shrine built in the plain of Pagan, huge square top-heavy buildings; but they are of brick, have a different interior architecture, few ornamental designs or sculptures, and stand free on all four sides; they all date from the 12th century. There are only three other edifices in Pagan which have features in common with the strange first story of the Kyaukku temple. This is the palace of King Manuha, the last of the Thatôn kings, whom Anawratha had brought captive to Pagan; the other is the Pitakataik (library for the

scriptures) erected to receive the five elephant-loads of palm-leaf manuscripts which Anawratha brought with Manuha from Thatôn more than 800 years ago. They shall be fully described further on; here only a few points in comparison of the three buildings.

The palace of Manuha, which is 850 years old, is built of the same greenish sandstone as the Kyaukku temple, but the stones cover only 10 inches of the exterior wall; the side facing the interior is brick, but the pillars in the throne room (Anawratha seems to have allowed Manuha the semblance at least of a king) are stone and exhibit carving in keeping with that of the Kyaukku temple. The palace has also perforated windows with ornamental designs similar to those shown on Plate III. The architectural structure of the Pitakataik differs in many respects, but there are the same sandstone windows with like designs. The Nagayôn pagoda, which was built before the Ananda, already substitutes bricks for stone in the apertures, laid in a fashion to form cross-shaped loopholes; in later structures the perforated windows entirely disappear and nothing but the framework is left. The condensed details of ornamentation and architecture of the oldest edifices in Pagan gradually changed to the inane coarse platitudes of the Thatpinyu pagoda, grand as an imposing mass of brickwork and mortar, whitewashed walls, clumsy, snub-nosed, short-necked, and *grosse tête* images of Buddha of Shan extraction. Probably Old Pagan above Mandalay could throw some light upon a civilization that appeared in its most perfect form when New Pagan was founded, but then steadily declined. The delicate details of architectural structure disappear in the gigantic expansion of Kyanzittha's and Narapatisithu's temples. The first story of the Kyaukku temple is not of Burmese origin like the second and third, and antedates the native records of authentic history; it is the original type of the many edifices in Pagan called Kala kyaung, the monasteries or schools of Western foreigners, Buddhist Indians apparently. Many facts that will be adduced in this report point to the conclusion that Pagan was built almost exclusively by Indian architects. I believe the Kyaukku temple to be, like the Mahāmuni shrine in Arakan, a remnant of North Indian Buddhism, which existed in Burma before the introduction and establishment of the Southern Buddhist school from Ceylon and Pegu. The Kyaukku temple is often mentioned in Pagan history; it was the refuge of fugitive priests, kings, and nobles, long after the conquest of Pagan by the Chinese and Shan. But all mention of it ceases with the death of the renowned monk Ariyadhamma, who inhabited the cave temple till the year 998 B.E. (1637 A.D.)

On the plateau stretching forth to the south of the shrine stand several smaller pagodas, all in ruins except one about 100 feet to the south-east of the main building. It is of the mitre type and measures 32′ from west to east and 22′ from north to south (see Plate X). The shrine, erected by the hapless Kyawzwa, the last king of Pagan before it was parcelled out amongst a number of Shan adventurers, was built in close imitation of the small ancient Kuzeit pagoda (see Chapter II), the work of King Kyanzittha (1069 A.D.). (For groundplan see diagram Plate IX.) Like most pagodas of this style the spire rises right over the principal chamber containing the image. At the height of 16′ the inner four walls of the image chamber begin to incline towards each other and meet in an apex at the height of 20′; the walls are covered with plaster and painted all over; scrolls, festoons, arabesques, and bands of pearl design holding entwined Buddhas in sitting attitude; animals (chiefly griffins), ducks, peacocks, and hares (the Buddha next to appear, after 2,500 years, passes at present his existence as a hare); the walls of the ante-chamber are divided into small fields 2″ by 2½″ depicting in black colour episodes from the Jats in illustration of the many phases through which Gotama had to pass. In front of the passage (at *nn*) which leads from the ante-room to the image chamber are pillasters with pedestals and capitals, and above the vaulted arch rise, in plaster-work, the usual spire and flamboyant ornamentation; the ceiling of the passage is divided into diagonal squares, painted in black and white lines on a background of light amber colour (see Plate X), with lateral bands of arabesque design. The entrance is to the east and

has a pointed arch; the ceiling of the ante-room is vaulted (semi-circular); all surfaces are covered with ornamental designs in blue, white, yellow, and black colours. The exterior is still partly covered with plaster, showing the usual ogre heads, scrolls, and other designs. An inscribed stone slab lies in front of the entrance, but the letters are entirely defaced. There are four other small pagodas in a straight line from north to south at a distance of about 100′ from each other. The first of them has also an inscribed stone; the characters are likewise obliterated. About 500 yards further due south is a large tank walled in with bricks. It was dug by order of King Narapatisithu (*circa* 550 B.E. or 1189 A.D.).

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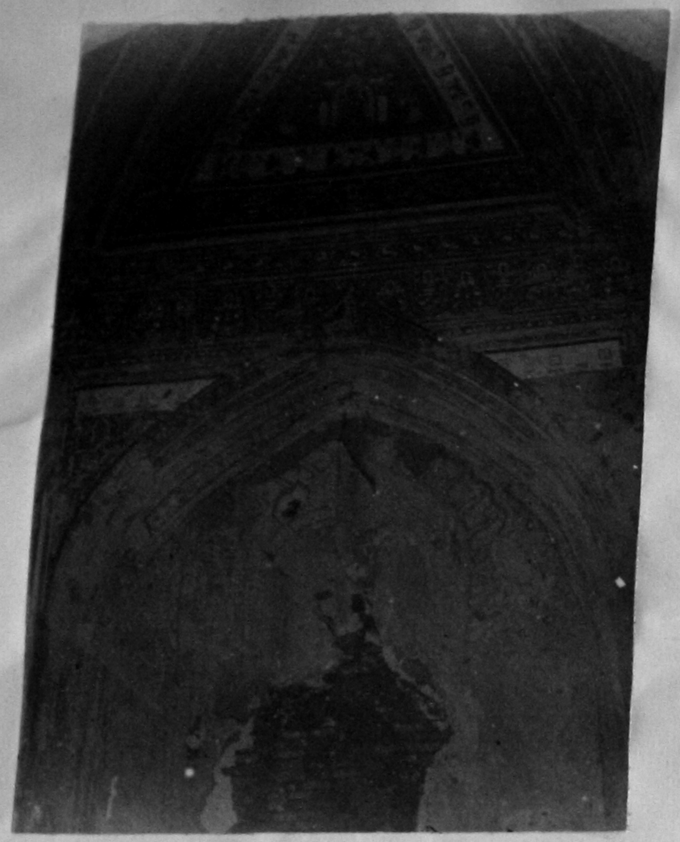
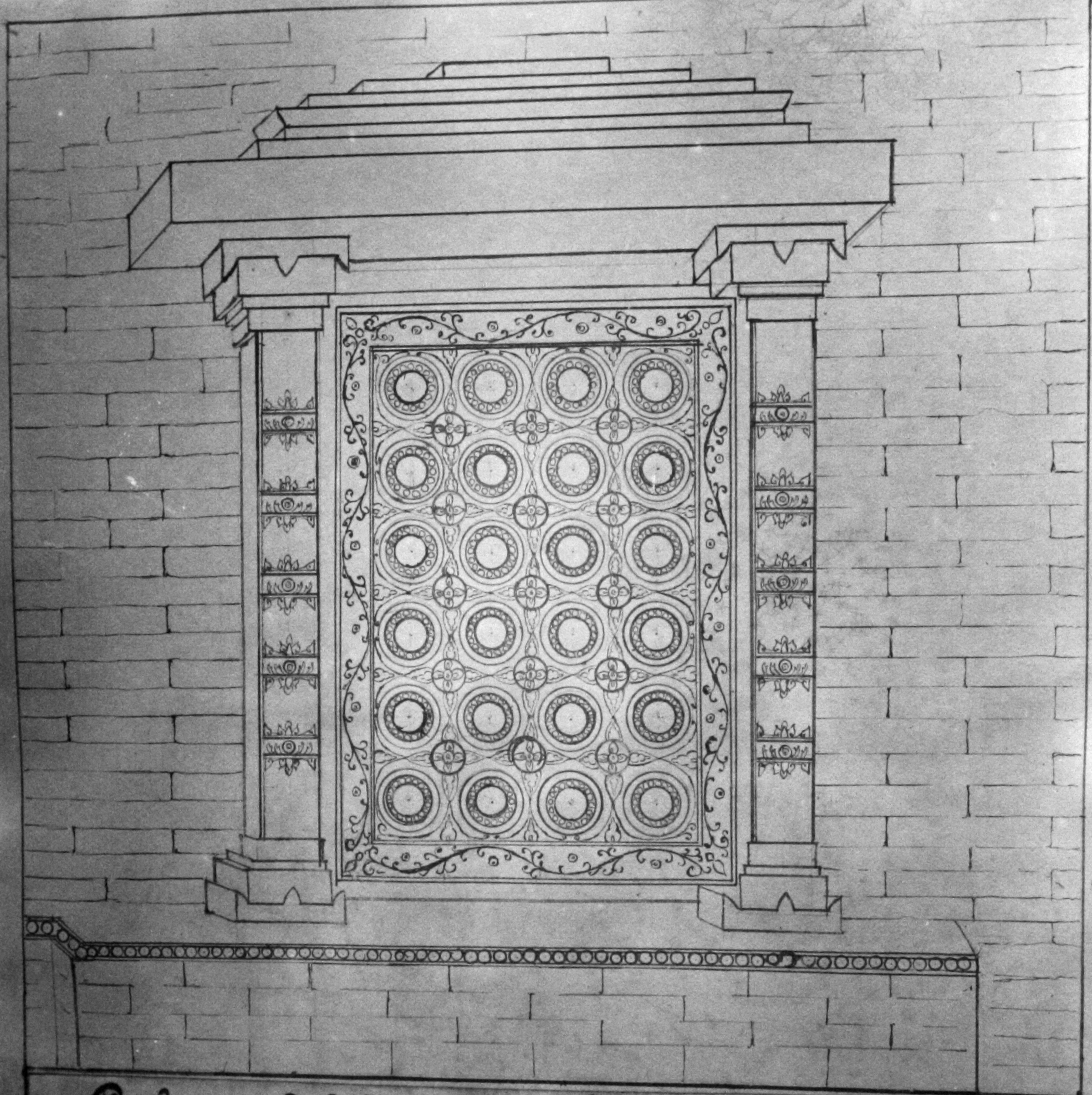
NOTE.—A number of clay tablets bearing legends in Talaing, Burmese, and Nagari characters were found in and about the Kyaukku temple. The epigraphy of Pagan inscriptions, of which there are so many, will be contained in Part III of this report. Here, in Part II, careful photographic reproductions are given from ink impression directly from the stones.

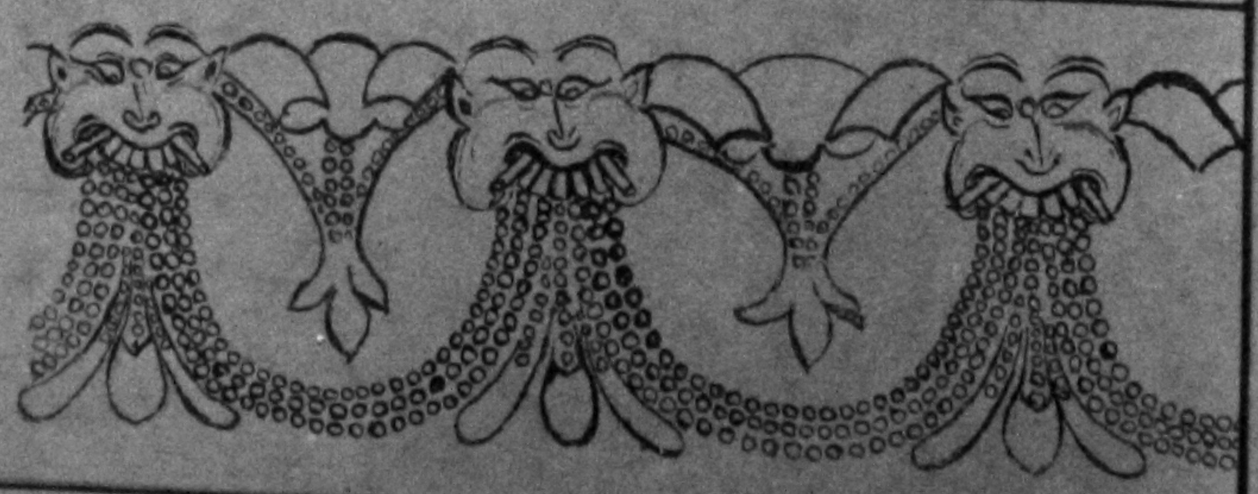




E.F. del. Perforated Window. Kyaukku Temple

No. 7

Scroll on façade of the Kyaukku Temple

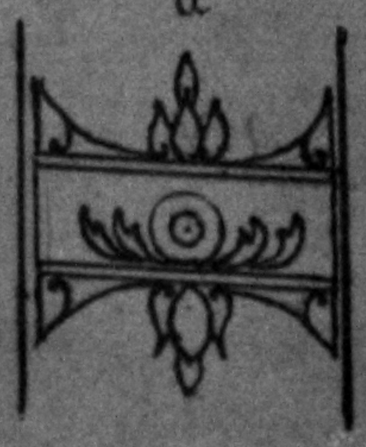


No. 8.

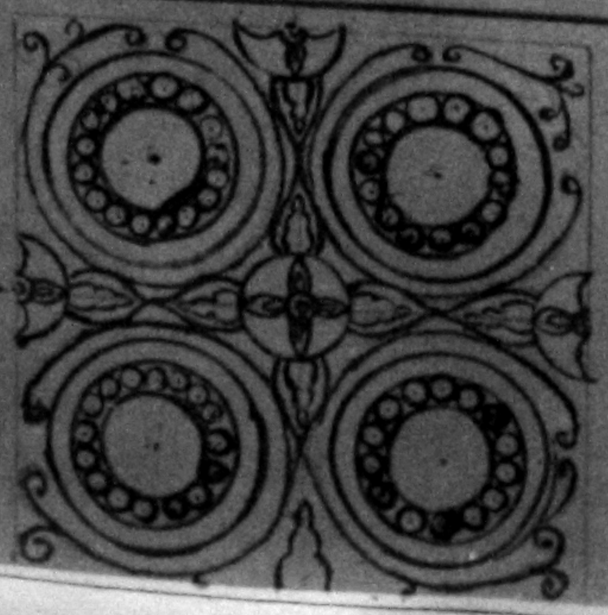
a. Design of scoll on pillaster

b. Design around the perforations of the window.

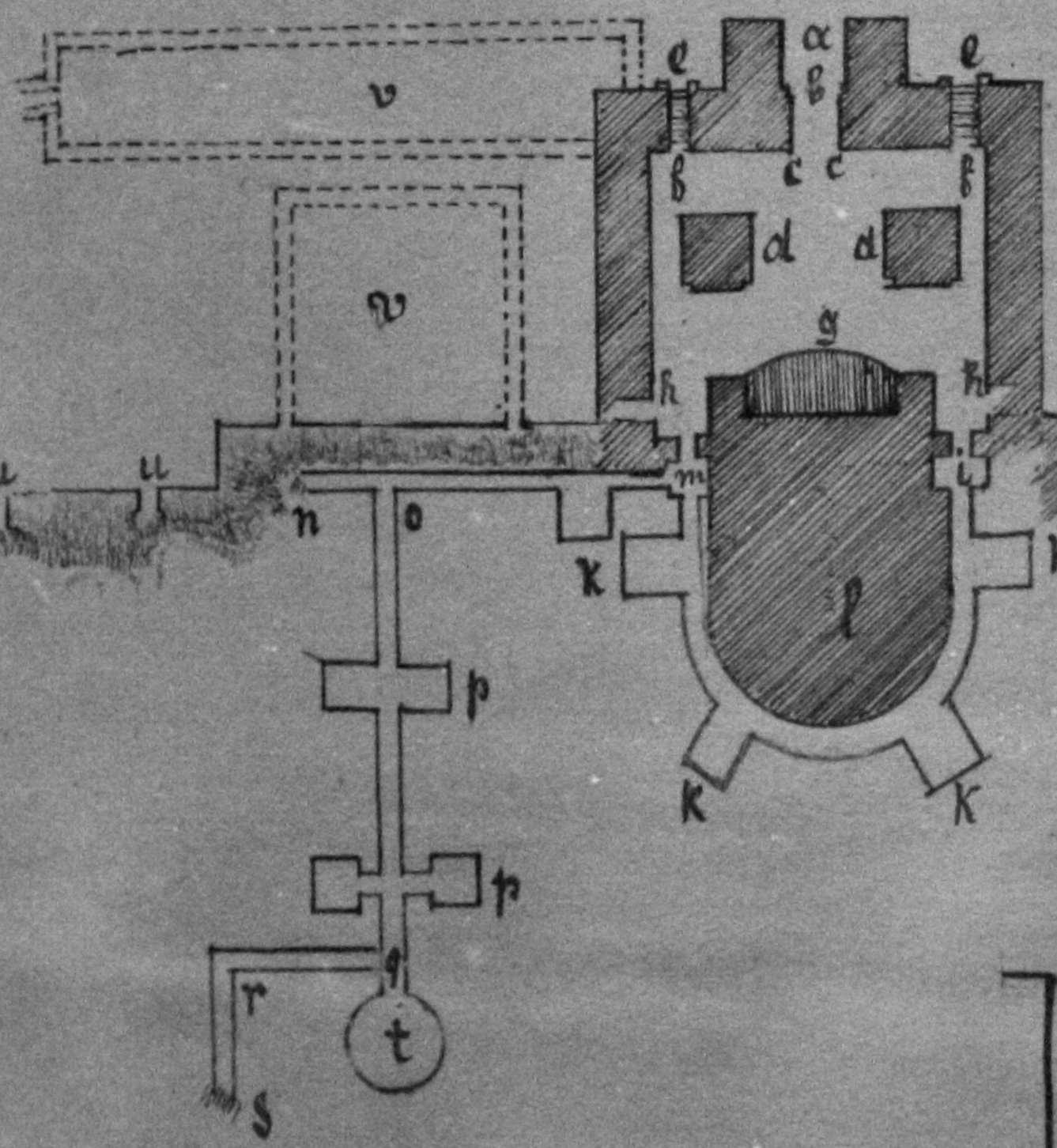
a



b.



PL. 22




Scale: forty feet to one inch.

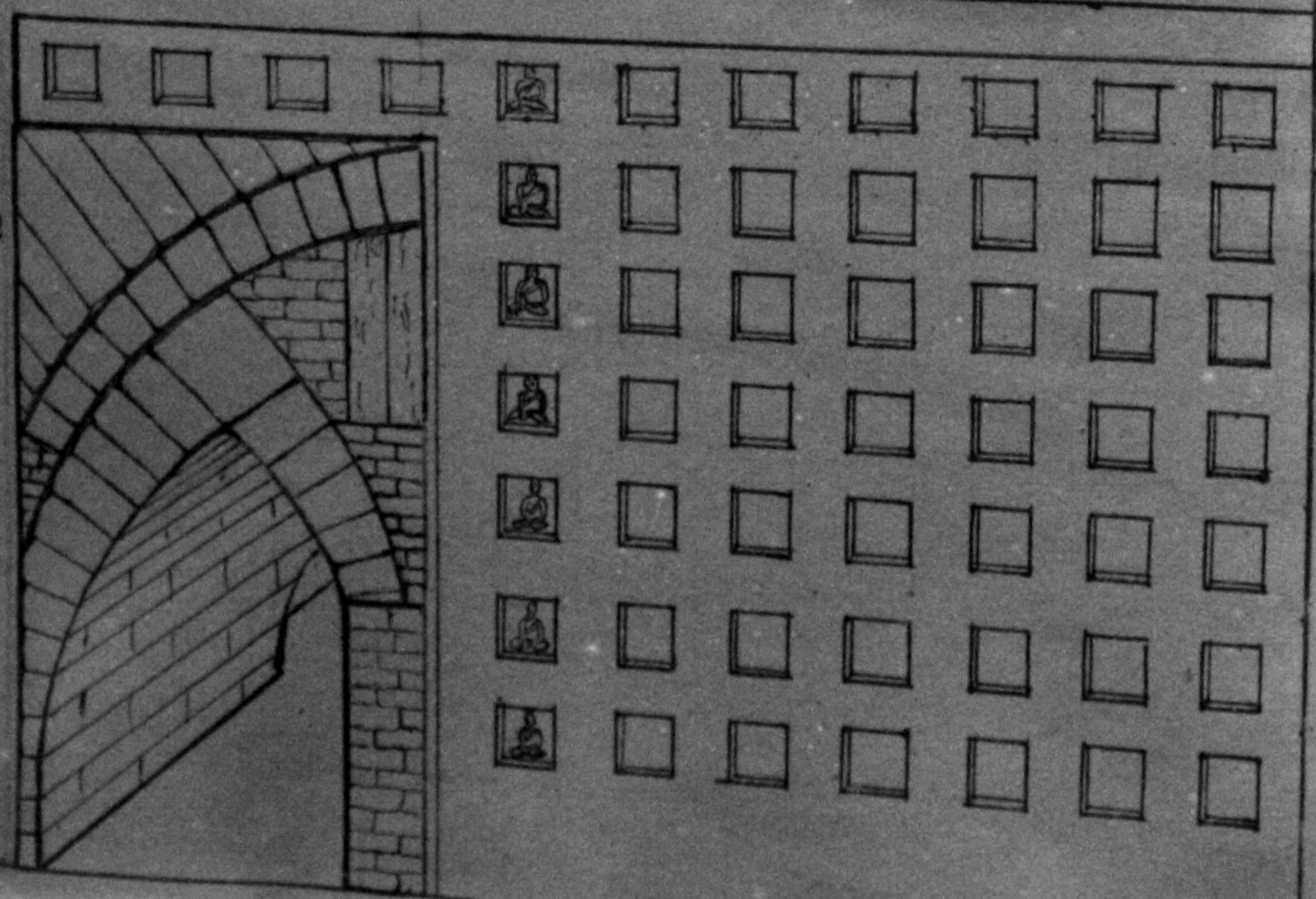
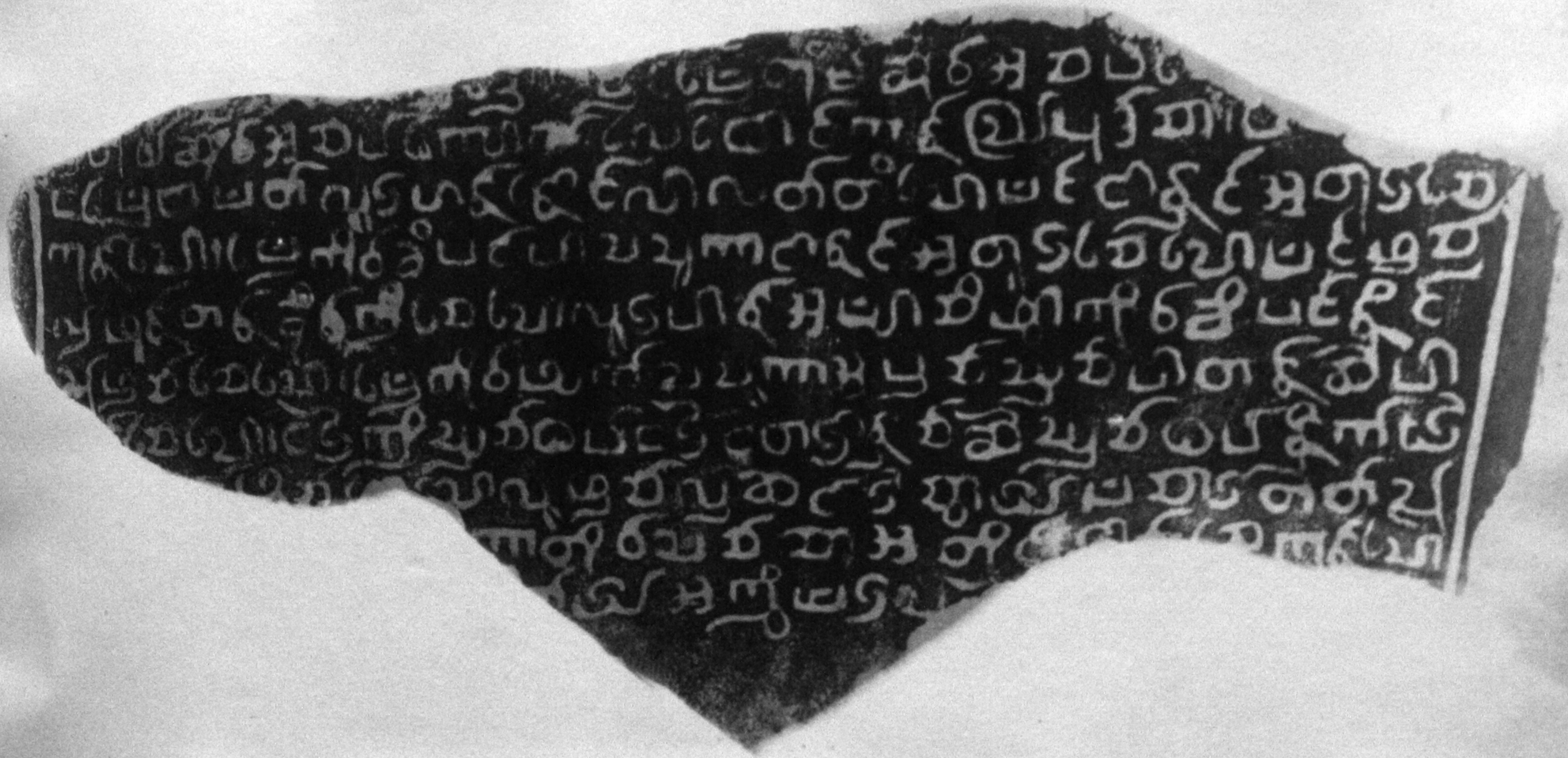
0 10 20 30 40

del. E.F.

# Plan of the Kyaukku Temple and Caves.

No. 12

Arched Passage and Wall with Niches to terrace Kyauk ku Temple.



E.F. del.